

Message Text

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2181
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0291

FROM MBFR REPRESENTATIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR: AHG JUNE 8 DISCUSSION OF FRG DATA DISAGGREGATION
PROPOSAL

REF: MBFR VIENNA 0287 (DTG 071101Z JUNE 77)

1. SUMMARY: ON JUNE 8, AD HOC GROUP (AHG) DISCUSSED THE FRG
DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL. US REP LED OFF WITH ANALYSIS,
AS SET FORTH REFTEL, OF CHIEF DEFECT OF THE PROPOSAL NAMELY,
ABSENCE OF NATIONAL DISIGNATIONS FOR PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS
(RESIDUAL PERSONNEL). HE STRESSED THAT, AS IT STOOD, EVEN IF
ACCEPTED, IT WOULD NOT PROVIDE THE INFORMATION THE WEST NEEDS;
THAT IT WAS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO BE REJECTED; AND THAT TO
ADVANCE IT WITHOUT NATIONAL DESIGNATIONS FOR RESIDUAL PERSONNEL
WOULD DAMAGE THE WESTERN POSITION. US REP URGED THAT IT BE

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MODIFIED TO GIVE NATIONALITY OF RESIDUAL PERSONNEL. UK, DUTCH,
CANADIAN, BELGIAN AND DANISH REPS JOINED IN ENDORSING US
REP'S REMARKS. FRG REP (BEHREND) STATED HIS AUTHORITIES DID
NOT CONSIDER COMPUTATION OF NATIONAL TOTALS ESSENTIAL TO CONTINUING
THE DATA DISCUSSION AND NOTED PREVIOUS FRG SUGGESTION IN THE SPC
THAT AN UNLINKED NATO DATA PUBLICATION OFFERED A SOLUTION TO
SOME OF THE PROBLEMS PERCEIVED BY THOSE WHO DID NOT SHARE

FRG'S VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) FOUND US REP'S PRESENTATION INTERESTING AND EXPRESSED VIEW ALL ALLIED REPS WOULD WANT TO COMMUNICATE ITS CONTENTS TO CAPITALS. GREEK, LUXEMBOURG, NORWEGIAN AND TURKISH REPS DID NOT COMMENT. FULL ACCOUNT OF THE DISCUSSION FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY

2. IN ADDITION TO POINTS MADE IN REFTEL US REP POINTED OUT RESIDUAL PERSONNEL ACCOUNTED TO ABOUT 240,000 OR 25 PERCENT OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. SPEAKING AFTER US REP, ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN US REP'S PRESENTATION. HE SAID HE WAS CERTAIN OTHER WESTERN REPS SHARED HIS VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONVEY ITS CONTENTS TO CAPITALS FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION THERE AND SAID THAT POINTS RAISED BY US REP WOULD BE USEFUL IN CONNECTION WITH CURRENT SPC CONSIDERATION OF FRG PROPOSAL.

3. UK REP (BOLLAND) WARMLY SUPPORTED US REP'S REMARKS AND SECONDED ITALIAN REP'S COMMENT THAT THEY SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO CAPITALS. FOR WELL KNOWN REASONS, THE UK DELEGATIONS BOTH IN VIENNA AND AT NATO HAD SUPPORTED THE TABLING OF NATIONAL TOTALS FROM THE BEGINNING OF DISCUSSION OF THE TOPIC. WHILE BOLLAND RECOGNIZED THE FRG'S CONCERNS OVER COLLECTIVITY, HE BELIEVED THAT THIS PRINCIPLE COULD BE FULLY PROTECTED BOTH BY DISCLAIMERS AND BY MAINTENANCE OF THE FIRM WESTERN POSITION WHICH HOLDS COLLECTIVITY TO BE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. MOREOVER, UK REP WAS TROUBLED THAT, IN THE EFFORT TO DEFEND COLLECTIVITY, ANOTHER CRUCIAL WESTERN TENET -THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PARITY - WOULD BE PREJUDICED. ADOPTION OF THE FRG PROPOSAL SEEMED CERTAIN TO BLOCK THE DATA DISCUSSION, MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR
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THE WEST TO ESTABLISH THE EXISTENCE OF A SIGNIFICANT MANPOWER DISPARITY AND THE NEED FOR ASYMMETRIC REDUCTIONS, THEREBY ELIMINATING THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING AN OUTCOME OF MANPOWER PARITY. THUS, AS BOLLAND FIGURATIVELY PUT IT, "DEFENDING THE CASTLE OF COLLECTIVITY AGAINST AN ATTACK WITH A BROKEN LANCE" ENTAILED THE RISK OF LOSING PARITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, UK REP CONTINUED, IF THE PROPOSAL WERE MODIFIED TO MAKE PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS ALSO NATIONALLY IDENTIFIABLE, PROSPECTS WOULD BE IMPROVED OF SECURING THE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO THE PURSUIT OF THE DATA DISCUSSION BY ENHANCING THE PROPOSAL'S NEGOTIABILITY WITH THE EAST. WITHOUT SUCH AN ADDITIONAL BREAKDOWN, THERE WAS A REAL DANGER THAT USE OF THE FRG PROPOSAL WITH THE EAST WOULD LEAVE THE WEST WORSE OFF THAN AT PRESENT.

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FROM MBFR REP

4. NETHERLANDS' REP (DEVOS) VOICED AGREEMENT WITH THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY US AND UK REPS. DUTCH AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THAT NATIONAL TOTALS WERE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT FORCES AND WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE UTILITY OF THE FRG PROPOSAL IN THIS CONTEXT. AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED, DEVOS CONSIDERED THE FRG PROPOSAL "A NON-STARTER" WHICH WOULD BE UTTERLY NON-NEGOTIABLE WITH THE EAST. USING THE PROPOSAL WOULD ULTIMATELY PLACE WEST IN A WORSE POSITION THAN AT PRESENT BY BLOCKING THE DATA DISCUSSION AND LEAVING EASTERN FIGURES WITHOUT EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE. AS A RESULT, THE WESTERN CASE FOR DISPARITIES AND FOR ASSERTING A DATA DISCREPANCY WOULD BE UNDERMINED WHILE THE EAST WOULD BE ON STRONG GROUND. THE ONLY SOLUTION IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE TO GIVE NATIONAL TOTALS LATER, UNDER MUCH MORE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS.

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5. FRG (BEHREND) COMMENTED THAT THE DISCUSSION WAS MOST INTERESTING BUT THAT THE PROPER FORUM FOR THE EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL VIEWS WAS THE SPC AND THE NAC. THE AHG COULD PROCEED, HOWEVER, ON A PERSONAL AND INFORMAL BASIS. HE STATED THAT THE FRG BELIEVED THAT THE DATA DISCUSSION SHOULD NOT BE DESIGNED TO GIVE

THE EAST NATIONAL TOTALS, MAKING THOSE TOTALS A PERMANENT POINT OF REFERENCE IN THE TALKS. HOWEVER, THE FRG HAS PREVIOUSLY SUPPORTED PRESENTATION OF ALLIED NATIONAL DATA IN A PUBLICATION NOT OFFICIALLY LINKED TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH A MOVE SHOULD ELIMINATE SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS BEING VOICED TO THE FRG DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL. EVEN IF SO PUBLISHED, HOWEVER, THE WEST COULD NOT ALLOW THE FIGURES FROM THAT PUBLICATION TO BE USED IN THE TALKS. IN RESPONSE TO POINT MADE BY US REP THAT THE DISCREPANCY WAS LIKELY TO BE FOUND LARGELY IN THE RESIDUAL FORCES CATEGORY, BEHREND'S STATED THAT THERE WAS A DISPARITY OF OVER 100,000 MEN BETWEEN MAJOR EASTERN AND WESTERN COMBAT UNITS IN THE AREA. THUS, THE BULK OF THE DISCREPANCY MIGHT PLAUSIBLY BE FOUND THERE ALSO.

6. CANADIAN REP (COX) SUPPORTED THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY US REP. HE SAID THAT THE AD HOC GROUP HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR POINTING OUT OBSTACLES TO THE ATTAINMENT OF WESTERN OBJECTIVES. REJECTING THE USE OF NATIONAL TOTALS IN THE TALKS WOULD ONLY SERVE TO FOCUS ON SUCH FIGURES AND TO SUGGEST POSSIBLE WESTERN WEAKNESS AS REGARDS THE COLLECTIVE NATURE OF THE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM ITSELF. THE FRG PROPOSAL, BY REFUSING TO PERMIT THE INTRODUCTION IN THE TALKS OF FIGURES ALREADY IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, WOULD PARADOXICALLY WEAKEN THE ALLIED POSITION ON COLLECTIVITY. SHOULD THE WEST ACTUALLY INTRODUCE THE CURRENT FRG PROPOSAL AND THE EAST ACCEPT IT, WHICH HE THOUGHT UNLIKELY, THE WEST WOULD STILL NOT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN ALL THE INFORMATION IT NEEDED. THE WEST, COX REITERATED, SHOULDN'T BE RELUCTANT TO TABLE FIGURES WHICH WERE ALREADY PUBLIC, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE WEST REQUIRED NATIONAL FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT FORCES IN ORDER TO PINPOINT THE DISCREPANCY. IF THE FRG PROPOSAL WERE TO BE REJECTED BY THE EAST,

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THE WEST WOULD BE UNABLE TO CLARIFY THE DATA DISCREPANCY AND BE LEFT IN A POOR NEGOTIATING POSITION GENERALLY. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY BAD ON THE EVE OF THE BELGRADE CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE.

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FROM MBFR REP

7. BELGIAN REP (SMOLDEREN) SAID THAT, WHILE THE SPC WAS THE PROPER FORUM FOR DECIDING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, THE AHG NEEDED TO ADDRESS ITEMS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE TACTICAL PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. AS HE SAW IT, THE CURRENT ALLIED AIM WAS TWO FOLD - TO PROTECT THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE AND TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCE OF THE DATA DISCREPANCY. THEREFORE, THE WEST SHOULD SEEK A MEANS FOR MAKING NATIONAL TOTALS AVAILABLE WITHOUT DIRECTLY DOING SO. THE FRG PROPOSAL WAS BOTH AN IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING ATTEMPT ALONG THESE LINES. HOWEVER, IT SHOULD BE MODIFIED SO THAT THE RESIDUAL FORCES CATEGORY WAS IDENTIFIED BY NATIONALITY. NOT TO DO SO WOULD RISK DAMAGE TO THE WESTERN POSITION. ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER, SMOLDEREN ASKED BEHRENDTS TO CLARIFY THE FRG PROPOSAL. BELGIUM, FOR ITS PART, WAS PREPARED TO DIVIDE ITS AIR FORCE PERSONNEL INTO FLYING AND GROUND SUPPORT COMPONENTS. SMOLDEREN CONCLUDED BY ASKING BEHRENDTS TO TRANSMIT THE REMARKS
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MADE IN THE MEETING TO BONN.

8. BEHRENDTS REPLIED THAT THE FRG BELIEVED THE CONCENTRATION SHOULD BE ON MAJOR GROUND UNITS. HOWEVER, THE FRG WOULD BE PREPARED SUBSEQUENTLY TO DISAGGREGATE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL DESPITE THE TECHNICAL PROBLEM OF FINDING AN AIR FORCE BREAKOUT COMPARABLE TO THAT USED FOR GROUND FORCES.

9. SMOLDEREN STATED THAT THE FRG'S PROPOSAL THAT INFORMATION BE DISCUSSED BOTH ON DIVISIONS AND HIGHER LEVEL UNITS MIGHT ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR A COMPROMISE WITH THE EAST AS IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT WISH TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION BY DIVISION. HE ADDED

THAT HIS AUTHORITIES SAW CONSIDERABLE DANGER IN THE PROPOSAL'S SUGGESTION THAT THE LOCATION OF MAJOR UNITS MIGHT BE GIVEN TO THE EAST. BEHREND'S REPLIED THAT THE FRG PROPOSAL WAS DESIGNED TO START WITH THE LARGEST UNITS, I.E., CORPS AND ARMIES FIRST. OFFICIAL DESIGNATIONS COULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE LOCATION OF MAJOR UNITS, WHICH WOULD ALSO HAVE THE EFFECT OF REVEALING THEIR NATIONALITY.

10. FINALLY, DANISH REP (ROSENTHAL) SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD FAVORED THE TABLING OF NATIONAL DATA ALL ALONG AND HE SAW NO REASON WHY THIS VIEW WOULD HAVE CHANGED. BEHREND'S, AS THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE AHG, CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION BY NOTING THERE WAS A DIVERGENCE OF OPINION ON THE DISAGGREGATION ISSUE. GREEK, LUXEMBOURG, NORWEGIAN AND TURKISH REPS DID NOT EXPRESS ANY VIEWS. RESOR

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